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New York

President:	Sir David Hannay	(United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	Spain	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

94-86672 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 11.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Kuwait, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait) took a place at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1994/1164, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Argentina, France, Oman, Rwanda, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following revisions to be made to the text of the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/1164 in its provisional form. The first line of the first preambular paragraph should read as follows: "Recalling all its previous relevant resolutions, and reaffirming resolutions". In the third line of the eighth preambular paragraph, the word "underlining" should be underscored.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following documents: S/1994/1137, letter dated 6 October 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Kuwait to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1994/1149, letter dated 10 October 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1994/1162, letter dated 14 October 1994 from the Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of Saudi Arabia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/1994/1165, letter dated 14 October 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Kuwait to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Members of the Council have also received photocopies of a letter dated 14 October 1994 from the representatives of Iraq and the Russian Federation to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the text of the Joint Communique issued on 13 October 1994 on the outcome of the meeting in Baghdad.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it as orally revised in its provisional form. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Ayewah (Nigeria): My delegation welcomes the current initiatives being undertaken by a number of States to address a perceived destabilization of the status quo that existed between Iraq and Kuwait prior to 6 October. The Council's presidential statement of 8 October 1994 was an appropriate response to the statement of the Revolutionary Command Council of Iraq as well as to the reports of troop movements. That we are revisiting the question a week later is testimony to one desire of the international community: to maintain a hands-on policy on the situation in that region, especially given its potential for constituting a threat to international peace and security.

My Government wishes to reiterate its belief that relations between States should be built on peaceful coexistence and mutual respect for one another's sovereignty and territorial integrity. We also recognize the sovereign right of every State to determine the direction and content of its domestic policies, including measures deemed necessary for the defence of its sovereignty and territorial integrity, provided those policies and activities do not constitute a threat to its

neighbours or have the potential of undermining international peace and security.

The international community, and more particularly the Security Council, has been seized of the Iraq-Kuwait matter for more than four years now. The dispute has been the subject of numerous Council resolutions, all of which were aimed at resolving all implications of the problem, thus bringing a final solution to the matter. The obligations these resolutions imposed on all Member States, in particular Iraq, were mandatory and non-negotiable. Prospects for peace in that area rested on the full implementation of all those relevant resolutions of the Council. Since becoming a member of the Security Council, my delegation has emphasized the obligation of Iraq fully to accept and implement all those resolutions.

My delegation was encouraged by the fact that Iraq has been showing willing cooperation with the Security Council in the implementation of the relevant resolutions addressing the conflict between Iraq and Kuwait. As a delegation, we had acknowledged the positive steps Iraq had taken to implement section C of resolution 687 (1991), as well as resolution 715 (1991) on the establishment of a mechanism for monitoring and verifying Iraq's armament industry. Only this week, the Council had received the report of its Special Commission, which confirmed that the system of monitoring and verification was provisionally operational. This is a significant and encouraging development when viewed on its own.

The events since 6 October 1994, however, have been a cause for concern to the international community. The State of Kuwait and its people have a right to live in peace within secure borders and in the full enjoyment of their sovereignty and territorial integrity. We believe also that Iraq has a responsibility to accept and acknowledge unambiguously the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kuwait.

My Government, of course, takes note of the announcement by the Government of Iraq that it is redeploying its forces to different positions. We welcome the fact that this withdrawal and redeployment have commenced. We hope that the redeployment will be completed expeditiously so as to lessen tension in the region.

In that light, my delegation will support the present draft resolution.

Mr. Bakuramutsa (Rwanda) *(interpretation from French):* The movement of Iraqi troops towards the Kuwaiti border was a cause of concern to my country, especially since we still remember Iraq's invasion of Kuwait a little more than three years ago. Rwanda has just emerged from a war and other terrible atrocities, and my Government is particularly sensitive to what is happening and what could happen in Kuwait. My delegation agreed to join in sponsoring the draft resolution before the Council as a sign that it condemns Iraq's conduct, which continues to jeopardize peace and stability in Kuwait and throughout the region.

My delegation is convinced that the only way to establish peace in the region is for Iraq to comply with the resolutions adopted by the Security Council, including resolution 833 (1993), relating to respect for the sovereignty of Kuwait, recognition of its international borders and the release of prisoners of war. My delegation hopes that additional efforts will be made to ensure that Iraq respects and implements those three provisions.

Mr. Sidorov (Russian Federation) *(interpretation from Russian):* The achievement of a lasting post-crisis settlement in the Persian Gulf region remains one of the priorities of Russian diplomacy. We continue to believe that Iraq must comply with all relevant Security Council resolutions; only this can lead to the normalization of the situation in the Persian Gulf.

Another important element in our approach is the need for Iraq's full cooperation with the United Nations in order to overcome the consequences of the conflict and for the Council to respond properly to indications of a constructive attitude in the policies of the Government of Iraq.

The dramatic turn of events in the region in recent days clearly showed the danger of the continuing failure to resolve the consequences of the 1990 Iraqi aggression against Kuwait. All together, we must seek ways to resolve the pending problems.

As members know, on instructions from the President of the Russian Federation, Mr. Boris N. Yeltsin, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Mr. Andrei V. Kozyrev, made an emergency visit to Baghdad and held talks with the Iraqi leadership. During those contacts, Russia indicated that it favoured decisive action to prevent the escalation of tension and to turn the situation back in the direction of diplomatic

efforts that could ultimately lead to the attainment of security and reliable stability in the region. As a result, Iraq has officially proclaimed, and as of today has virtually completed, the withdrawal of its troops to rear positions.

It is vitally important that the joint Russian-Iraqi communiqué establishes Iraq's willingness positively to resolve the question of the recognition of the sovereignty and borders of Kuwait as determined pursuant to Security Council resolution 833 (1993).

Therefore, the agreements reached open the way to a military détente between Iraq and Kuwait and help to advance an overall post-crisis settlement.

On that basis the Russian delegation suggested that the Security Council not take any decisions on Iraq until the Russian Foreign Minister had completed his visit to the region and had come to New York to participate in the Council's meeting. We thought that was entirely justified since the Russian Foreign Minister had held, in Iraq and in other countries of the region, negotiations on problems which are now before the Council for consideration and which are partially reflected in the draft resolution submitted by the sponsors.

We note with regret that the Council has acted hastily when it was possible to wait for - literally - a few hours. At the same time, we note that the sponsors of the draft resolution did take into account some of our concerns and those of some other delegations and have agreed to some amendments that have made the text more balanced. In particular, I would stress that the draft resolution does not contain any provisions that could have served as justification for the use of strikes or force. It is important that the draft reflect the results of the visit of the Russian Foreign Minister to the region and, in particular, that it welcome diplomatic efforts to find a political solution to the crisis as well as Iraq's willingness to resolve positively the question of the recognition of the sovereignty and borders of Kuwait.

For that reason the Russian delegation will support the draft resolution. In addition, we shall vote in favour of it because authoritative leaders of countries in the region, in particular Sheikh Al-Sabah, the Emir of Kuwait, King Fahd of Saudi Arabia and Sheik Zayed Al Nuhayyan of the United Arab Emirates, have made an urgent request to Russia to maintain unity within the Council on this question in the interest of establishing security and stability in the Persian Gulf region.

Looking to the future, I should like to stress the importance of the Council's adopting decisions that truly seek to eliminate the root causes of instability in the Persian Gulf region and not to deal solely with their symptoms. Otherwise, we will only be forcing the disease to deeper levels and acting as mere spectators to its recurrence, postponing the advent of security and reliable stability in the region.

The President: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/1164, as orally revised in its provisional form.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 949 (1994).

I shall now call upon those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): We are all familiar with Santayana's warning that those who forget the past are doomed to relive it. Four years ago last August the world witnessed a chilling sequence of events: Iraqi propaganda and public statements began to portray Iraq as the victim of an international conspiracy; Kuwait, and its leaders in particular, were the subject of vitriolic attacks; elite units of the Republican Guard began to deploy to staging areas on Kuwait's borders; logistical components of these units were activated, suggesting that this was no drill. On 2 August 1990 the Iraqi army crossed the border and began its rape of Kuwait.

Beginning last week, Iraq's Revolutionary Command Council issued a bellicose statement threatening to end cooperation with the United Nations Special Commission and accusing Kuwait and the members of the United Nations Security Council of seeking to "kill as many Iraqis as possible". Simultaneously, Iraqi Republican Guard Units, including many of the same units used in 1990, began moving towards the Kuwaiti border. Over the past week these units assembled in precisely the same

marshalling areas used in 1990. As in 1990, ammunition, communications and logistic support were all an integral part of this last mobilization.

Security Council vigilance, effective coalition preparedness and all-too-frequent experience with Iraq's unreliability have ensured that Santayana's warning does not apply in this Chamber. We are determined - and have acted in such a manner - to see that this piece of history does not repeat itself.

The Iraqi deployment of troops to Kuwait's border is a blatant attempt by Iraq to bully the United Nations Security Council into negotiating on its terms the lifting of oil-export sanctions. This Council will not be intimidated by this tactic. Such a provocative and foolish act was not necessary. Had Saddam Hussein done what we all know needs to be done -complied with all Council resolutions and proven Iraq's "peaceful intentions" - that easing of sanctions would have occurred in its own proper time. By this action, however, Iraq has set back its own cause. Can anyone seriously suggest that this act characterizes a nation intent on showing its peaceful intentions? Is there anyone who would subscribe to these Iraqi terms for gaining its re-entry into the community of responsible nations?

The extreme irony is that some have attributed this action to Iraqi impatience with its population's suffering and a desire to break out of the stranglehold sanctions have imposed. Yet Iraqi authorities have enough money to maintain one of the largest armies and enough money to pay for military operations, whether to suppress the Marsh Arabs or to threaten Kuwait. It should by now be clear to all that the Iraqi Government is responsible for the suffering of the Iraqi people.

Iraqi troops have begun to redeploy, albeit ambiguously, in a manner very similar to the duplicitous approach Iraq has taken in its diplomatic responses to the United Nations over the past four years. While claiming that Iraqi troops have withdrawn completely, in fact one division of Republican Guards has pulled back to Nasariyah, only an hour from the Kuwaiti border. Yet again, Iraq seems to have learned nothing and forgotten everything. Yet again, Saddam Hussein seeks to test this Chamber's resolve to deal with the threat to Kuwait.

It is for these reasons that this resolution we have adopted today is so critical. The message in this resolution is clear. Iraq must withdraw all military units deployed to the south to their original positions. It must not take any action to enhance its military capabilities in southern Iraq. Iraq must never again use its military to threaten its neighbours or the United Nations operations in Iraq. It must also cooperate with the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM). Because the Government of Iraq is not credible, it must be judged by what it verifiably does, not by what it says. We cannot allow threats of unprovoked aggression to burgeon into the reality of renewed aggression.

Iraq's record under Saddam Hussein's leadership is one littered with broken commitments. Had we accepted Saddam's word at any time that he would meet the obligations which have been imposed upon him and thereby let down our guard, we might be having a different kind of discussion here today, perhaps one involving how to reverse a second Iraqi occupation of Kuwait. Whatever his motive, whatever his objective, whatever his claim, it is only international political and military reaction that have stopped this hostile action dead in its tracks.

More than four years after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, why should it be so difficult for Iraq to comply with the United Nations Security Council resolution 833 (1993) and recognize Kuwait's borders with Iraq? I would remind members that in 1991 Iraq said it accepted Security Council resolution 687 (1991) and that it recognized Kuwait's borders. Yet, over the past three years it has consistently refused to utter the name "Kuwait", instead continually referring to Kuwait as Iraq's nineteenth province. The events of the last week should leave no doubt that Iraqi promises have no value.

That is why Iraq's recent statement about its readiness to recognize Kuwaiti sovereignty and borders leaves us unconvinced. For it to have any value, this statement must be followed by unambiguous action. Iraq must recognize Kuwait's sovereignty, territorial integrity and borders in the same manner it purported to annex Kuwait: with a statement ratified by the Revolutionary Command Council and by the Iraqi Parliament, published in the *Official Gazette* and communicated formally to the Security Council.

Let us be clear about the facts: Iraqi spokesmen are engaged in a concerted effort to define truth as lies and lies as truth. They will not succeed. If Iraq's goal is to gain the lifting of sanctions, it can do so by complying with the resolutions of the Security Council. If Iraqi leaders are concerned at the plight of the Iraqi people, let them make use of the humanitarian exemptions that currently exist and let them cease the campaign of terror

they have waged against their citizens in the north and south. Moreover, those in Baghdad believe our vigilance in the south means that we will ignore Iraqi military moves in the north, they are dead wrong.

This unanimous vote should send a clear message: let Iraq be warned and let it fully understand that it should not miscalculate the firmness, unity, and resolve of this Council and the international community to counter further challenges to the peace and security of Kuwait, the region, and the world.

In closing, let me assure this Council that pursuant to the resolutions of this Council and Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, my Government will take all appropriate action if Iraq fails to comply with the demands of this resolution.

Mr. Mérimée (France) *(interpretation from French):* The deployment of Iraqi troops towards the Kuwaiti border was a deplorable development to which it was proper for the Security Council to react as it did. The Iraqi action, which contradicted the assurances of cooperation offered over the last few months, made it necessary for the Security Council to remind Iraq of the obligations to which it must comply and to assure the international community of its resolve to guarantee peace and security in that region.

My delegation co-sponsored resolution 949 (1994) whose two main objectives we agree with fully. We must have Iraq fully withdraw the forces it deployed in recent days in the direction of the Kuwaiti border. In addition, we must insist that Iraq abstain in the future from undertaking similar actions. This is one of the conditions for us to be assured of its peaceful intentions.

This resolution requires that Iraq refrain from adopting a hostile or provocative stance with regard to its neighbours and the United Nations. It would be the task of the Security Council to take up any action on the part of Iraq which could be regarded as non-compliance with this present resolution. In the event the Council were led to take such a decision, Iraq is aware of the serious consequences to which it would be exposed.

My delegation calls on the Iraqi authorities to implement all resolutions of the Security Council and to cooperate fully with the Council, and particularly with the Special Commission. I emphasize in particular the information reaching us regarding the declared intention of the Iraqi authorities to undertake to respect the political independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the State of Kuwait. Resolution 833 (1993) must be implemented without delay and with the utmost precision. We call on the Iraqi authorities to proceed with this implementation in due form. This would constitute considerable progress in the right direction.

Resolution 949 (1994) quite properly reminds Iraq of all of its obligations. Those relating to the fate of prisoners and missing persons as well as those relating to the respect of human rights in Iraq remain of the greatest importance to the French authorities.

Mr. Kovanda (Czech Republic): Let me first congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency this month. Your well-known diplomatic skills, which thankfully include a sometimes acerbic wit, will no doubt allow the Council to dispatch its work in a particularly efficient manner. I also wish to thank Ambassador Juan Antonio Yañez-Barnuevo for the careful, methodical and very effective way he handled the Council's business in the month of September.

A small country is bound to be nervous when a powerful neighbour starts moving troops for no apparent reason towards its borders. It will be doubly nervous when the neighbour in question is one which has occupied the small country only a short time previously, one which has a history of publicly referring to the small country as one of its own provinces, and one which continues to withhold an unequivocal declaration recognizing the small country's sovereignty and borders. My country has in living memory experienced the shadow of precisely such troop movements, manoeuvres, and declarations doubting its international legitimacy. To this day, historians argue whether an entirely different course of European history might not have ensued if the international community had demonstrated a stiffer resolve in 1938, for example.

An overwhelming majority of these United Nations are small nations such as Kuwait or my own. It is therefore imperative that in safeguarding international peace and security the Security Council should address, in particular, military challenges to which such small nations are exposed.

In the case of Kuwait, history teaches vigilance. There is an entire booklet of resolutions that this body passed in the aftermath of the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait. In 1990, the international community rallied in defence of this small, vastly outgunned Member, and

threw the aggressor out. My country is proud to have made its own modest contribution to that effort.

But there is a Czech saw that describes the uninvited guest who is thrown out of the door but finds his way back through the window. This Council has done a lot to reduce the menace that Iraq poses to Kuwait, but Iraq has by its recent actions demonstrated that it may still be looking for some windows. The resolute stance of the international community, including the rapid response of United States and allied troops and this Council's own unequivocal presidential statement of exactly a week ago, have led to a withdrawal of the menacing Iraqi troops. Whether this withdrawal has been partial or total is a matter of debate, but our resolution, among other things, leaves no doubt that a total withdrawal has to be effected and similar troop movements may not recur.

Meanwhile, other diplomatic initiatives are under way. We welcome Foreign Minister Kozyrev's visit to the area and are looking forward to his impending visit to New York. We always prefer diplomacy to sabre-rattling and, in truth, Iraq's reported recent statements to Minister Kozyrev would have been much more welcome if loud sabre-rattling had not preceded them.

Together with the rest of the Council, my country reaffirms the need for Iraq to recognize, at the highest official level, the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kuwait in its internationally recognized borders. That is a long-standing and immutable position of the international community. It is also important for my Government, though, that this resolution in no way questions the territorial integrity of Iraq. The main demand on Iraq is that it assume the standard posture of all of us, Members of these United Nations, which, to quote the preamble to our Charter, includes our determination

> "to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours".

Iraq has to become a good neighbour to all of its neighbours, and to that end has to respect the provisions of all relevant Security Council resolutions.

The President: I thank the representative of the Czech Republic for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Al-Khussaiby (Oman): At the outset I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on assuming the presidency of the Council for this month. We are confident that with your wisdom and vast experience you will lead our work successfully. My delegation assures you of our fullest cooperation at all times.

At the same time, we wish to convey our gratitude to the Ambassador of Spain for a job well done last month.

The Security Council, having reviewed the latest Iraqi military deployment along Kuwait's border, which once again renewed tension in the region, has just adopted resolution 949 (1994), for which we voted in favour.

We in the Sultanate of Oman believe that the adoption of today's resolution will contribute towards strengthening peace and stability in the region. Furthermore, we believe that it gives our brothers in Iraq another chance to prove their good intentions and to prove that they are serious about their ability to live in peaceful coexistence with their neighbours.

Our understanding in the Sultanate of Oman of resolution 949 (1994) is that it addresses the urgent situation in the region as a result of the latest Iraqi military action. It aims at preventing a repeat of such action. In our understanding, again, this resolution is not by any means related to the question of the lifting or non-lifting of the sanctions. Oman believes a distinction has to be drawn between earlier Security Council resolutions and today's resolution.

While welcoming the statement made by the Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation regarding Iraq's readiness to recognize Kuwait and the border agreement between the two countries, in accordance with resolution 833 (1993), we call upon our brothers in Iraq to translate such readiness into actual implementation. Such a step, in our opinion, will contribute towards strengthening peace and stability in the region and serve the interests of the brotherly people of Iraq.

My country has repeatedly voiced through this respected forum its understanding of the plight of the Iraqi people as a result of continued economic sanctions imposed on their country. Oman and other States have worked together to find a way out and to help Iraq pass through the crisis of the sanctions regime within the framework and modalities of relevant Security Council resolutions and the United Nations Special Commission responsible for the destruction of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction. None the less, the recent action taken by Iraq to deploy its forces on the southern frontier along

the border with Kuwait brought fear and concern about the peace and stability of the region, all of which weakened our endeavours and efforts.

In conclusion, we are fully convinced that the outstanding problems will be resolved in the best way only through Iraq's close cooperation with the United Nations Special Commission and through the Iraqi authorities' implementing all the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, with, in particular, recognition of Kuwaiti sovereignty and respect for the borders agreement, in accordance with resolution 833 (1993).

The President: I thank the representative of Oman for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo (Spain) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: The recent deployment of a large number of Iraqi troops towards the border with Kuwait caused serious concern to the Spanish Government. For some days the world lived under the terrible threat that had led to the Gulf War in 1990.

So the Security Council reacted clearly and swiftly in a presidential statement on 8 October, expressing the Council's grave concern over the troop movements and reaffirming Iraq's responsibility to comply with its obligations contained in the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

I would also like to recall that on 11 October the European Union issued a statement urging Iraq immediately to withdraw its troops from the border region, to refrain from confrontation and to cooperate fully in the implementation of the Council's resolutions. The Iraqi troop movements and the threat they implied forced the States in the region, with support from other States, to react immediately through preventive and defensive deployment to protect Kuwait, to whose sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity the Security Council is committed.

Spain shares in that commitment, and does so actively and resolutely, as it did during the Gulf crisis in 1990-1991. In that connection, I should like to put on record the broad logistical support offered by the Spanish authorities, to the United States in particular, to facilitate this preventive deployment, which has been timely and useful in confronting the new Iraqi threat.

The determination shown by the international community was decisive in quickly bringing about the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from their positions near the Kuwait border. We trust that the withdrawal of those forces to their bases will be completed as soon as possible, as the Iraqi Government has stated.

Resolution 949 (1994), which we have just adopted, is an important step forward in preventing any repetition of similar situations which might entail a danger to Kuwait and other neighbours of Iraq.

In my delegation's view, the provisions of paragraph 4 should, as is clear from its opening words, be read in conjunction with the content of paragraph 3; the Security Council's demand that Iraq not take any measures to strengthen its military capacity in the southern part of the country refers to the activities described in paragraph 3 - that is, activities involving the use of forces in a hostile or provocative manner to threaten either its neighbours or United Nations operations in Iraq.

While there should be no troop movements or redeployments whatsoever that could threaten neighbouring countries, in the view of my delegation Iraq should not be prohibited from keeping defensive units of a reasonable size in a large part of its territory, particularly in Basra, the second city of Iraq.

Along the same lines we should recall that the Security Council has reaffirmed in this resolution its commitment to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence not only of Kuwait, but also of Iraq. The Council's resolutions, including the one we have just adopted, are directed not against Iraq as a country, but, rather, against aggressive actions by the Iraqi regime in the recent past and threatening, bullying attitudes that are still being adopted today.

Spain hopes that the Government of Iraq will understand the very clear message contained in resolution 949 (1994) and that, seeing that its recent action will not contribute in any way to improving its situation *vis-à-vis* the international community, it will withdraw completely the troops it recently deployed and will in future refrain from carrying out military movements that might endanger international peace and security in the area. Then, if the Government of Iraq truly desires to take effective steps to be reintegrated into the international community, it should clearly and unequivocally recognize Kuwait's sovereignty and independence as well as its borders, which are guaranteed under Security Council resolution 833 (1993). It should also collaborate fully

and sincerely with the United Nations in fulfilling its other obligations under Security Council resolutions.

For the good of the people of Iraq and for the sake of peace in the region, it is to be hoped that all this will come to pass - and the sooner the better.

Mr. Keating (New Zealand): Congratulations, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency this month. Our thanks go also to the Ambassador of Spain for his work as President last month.

For New Zealand - and, I think, for all the small countries of the world - the great importance of the United Nations is that it provides a framework for collective security. It provides hope for small countries that cannot defend themselves against aggression.

Four years ago, Iraq, a large and very powerful country, brutally attacked and occupied its small neighbour, Kuwait. Then, as now, New Zealand gave very strong support to Kuwait. We also supported the firm and determined response by the United Nations to evict Iraq's forces from Kuwait. In 1990 and 1991 the Security Council did what it had to do: it exercised its responsibilities under the Charter in the face of aggression and took the necessary measures to restore international peace and security.

Last week it seemed possible that an attempt was being made to repeat that history. A large and aggressively configured military force was deployed by Iraq towards Kuwait. That deployment constituted a threat to regional peace and security, and the gravity of the threat is exacerbated not only by the events of 1990 but all the more by the fact that in the intervening period Iraq has stubbornly failed to recognize Kuwait's sovereignty and its borders.

This kind of equivocation leaves doubt about Iraq's peaceful intentions. It raises fears that Iraq continues to harbour aggressive designs towards Kuwait. The situation is further compounded by the fact that Iraq also defies its legal obligations under the United Nations Charter by virtue of resolutions of this Council.

In the face of such an aggressive threat, in the face of such equivocation and defiance, it is necessary for the Council to again exercise its responsibilities under Chapter VII of the Charter. We must make it plain to Iraq, as we have done tonight in resolution 949 (1994), that such threatening behaviour is unacceptable. It must not be repeated.

Because Iraq has raised new doubts about its peaceful intentions, it was necessary and desirable that this resolution lay down some very clear markers about future troop deployments. We reject the argument that Iraq is free to deploy its forces however it wishes within its borders. Given its past aggressive wars, its equivocation about the sovereignty of its neighbour and its threatening moves last week, the Security Council has a responsibility to take certain protective measures, including requiring Iraq not to redeploy its forces to the south again.

The President: I thank the representative of New Zealand for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Li Zhaoxing (China) *(interpretation from Chinese):* At the outset I would like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council this month. I believe that under your outstanding and skilful leadership, the Council will be successful in its work this month.

I would also like to thank Ambassador Yáñez-Barnuevo, who, as President of the Council in September, successfully guided us in our work last month.

The Chinese delegation is deeply concerned over the recent developments in the Gulf region and hopes the tension there can be eased as soon as possible. We have taken note of the fact that the Iraqi Government has begun to withdraw its troops, which is conducive to the relaxation of tensions in the region. We hope that all the parties concerned will exercise restraint and continue their efforts for peace so that tensions in the region can be eased and eliminated.

The Chinese Government has all along stood for a peaceful settlement of the problems left over from the Gulf war, on the basis of the full implementation of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, so as to achieve lasting peace and stability in the Gulf region as early as possible.

Kuwait being a State Member of the United Nations, we reaffirm that its sovereignty and territorial integrity should be respected by the international community. We urge Iraq to continue to cooperate with the United Nations in fully and practically implementing the relevant

resolutions of the Council in order to create favourable conditions for the early easing and lifting of sanctions, and we hope it will do so.

On the basis of these considerations, the Chinese delegation voted in favour of the resolution the Council adopted today. It should be noted that our favourable vote on this resolution does not signify any change in our reservations regarding other relevant resolutions of the Council, including resolution 678 (1990).

The President: I thank the representative of China for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Cardenas (Argentina) *(interpretation from Spanish):* The Argentine delegation deeply regrets that the Council has again had to adopt a resolution in connection with the conflict initiated by Iraq when it invaded Kuwait on 2 August 1990, this time as a result of a large-scale military deployment recently carried out by Iraq in the direction of its border with Kuwait.

Without any doubt, this act must be seen as either a threat or a provocation directed at Kuwait and, hence, at the international community as a whole. In either case it represents a threat to international peace and security and quite definitely a loss of credibility for Iraq.

Information provided to the Council that has been repeated and updated suggests that now many of the troops redeployed by Iraq have begun to return to where they came from. This is no doubt due to the swift and decisive reaction of various States that hastened to lend their support once again to Kuwait. However, this information, which we appreciate, also indicates that a substantial number of Republican Guard units are still stationed in the southern part of Iraq in positions that are clearly threatening.

The resolution that we have just adopted, of which my delegation is a sponsor, is designed to condemn Iraq for this and to require that it immediately complete the withdrawal of its troops and refrain in future from threatening or provoking Kuwait or any other countries in the region. Iraq must realize that the international community is and will continue to be particularly vigilant in preventing any repetition of the circumstances that led to the invasion of Kuwait in 1990.

There are, nevertheless, some indications that can be regarded as encouraging in that it seems that Iraq is ready to explicitly recognize the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kuwait and the borders demarcated in resolution 833 (1993). We trust that very soon, and without any doubts or conditions, this will be confirmed through an explicit and unequivocal statement and other official actions by the Iraqi Government pursuant to its constitutional norms. In this way, one of Iraq's main obligations pursuant to resolutions adopted by the Security Council will have been complied with.

We also hope that the other obligations mentioned in the various resolutions of the Security Council will be fully complied with by Iraq. The sooner this happens, the readier the international community will be to consider lifting the sanctions imposed on Iraq following its aggression against Kuwait in 1990.

Mr. Marker (Pakistan): It is a source of great pleasure for my delegation to see you, Mr. President, once again at the helm of the affairs of the Security Council. We are confident that under your impeccable direction the Council's work during the current month will be as rewarding as it will be productive.

I should also like to take this opportunity to warmly thank the Council's President for the month of September, Ambassador Yañez-Barnuevo of Spain, for the excellent leadership that he provided.

Although the situation in Iraq has been under continuous review by the Security Council, it has been some time since the Council actually adopted a resolution relating to Iraq. We regret the recent events and the threatening Iraqi troop movements that compelled the Council members to resort to the decision that has been taken tonight. We hope that appropriate lessons will have been drawn from the latest crisis and that the objectives contained in this resolution will serve the larger purpose of maintaining peace and stability in the region.

My delegation appreciates the invaluable role played by the United States in reversing what appeared to be a potentially dangerous situation. We are also appreciative of the personal efforts being made by the Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation with a view to resolving some of the main issues that lie at the root of tension and hostility in the region.

Pakistan enjoys brotherly relations both with Kuwait and with Iraq. It is therefore our earnest desire that both these countries should be able to live in peace as good neighbours.

The President: I thank the representative of Pakistan for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Olhaye (Djibouti): At the outset I congratulate you, Sir, most warmly on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the current month. We are confident of your abilities and that the Council is in good hands.

We also wish to express deep gratitude to Ambassador Yañez-Barnuevo for successfully and capably guiding the work of the Council last month.

My delegation deeply regrets Iraq's recent hostile and provocative intentions, which triggered worldwide outcry and condemnation. There is no doubt that my country did not hesitate to condemn these unjustified threats and intimidation against the people of Kuwait and against Kuwait's sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence.

This latest action was by no means an innocuous southward drive for training or for a change of climate. In our view, it had all the manifestations of a material breach of the main Security Council resolutions on this subject - in particular, resolutions 687 (1991) and 833 (1993). We demand that Iraq immediately complete its withdrawal of all military units recently deployed in the direction of the border with Kuwait.

From now on, we believe, there is only one avenue available to Iraq - namely, that of seeking peace and learning to live peacefully with its smaller and weaker neighbour, the Kuwaiti nation. How that is to be achieved depends solely on Iraq, which must demonstrate peaceful intentions in concrete fashion and unequivocally to the international community. We believe that Iraq could do so, but it must have the necessary willingness and resolve. That is all it takes.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of the United Kingdom.

My Government is delighted that the Security Council adopted this resolution yesterday, thus underlining the determination of the Council to take firm and decisive action to prevent a recurrence of the events of 1990 and 1991. The developments of the last two weeks bear a superficial similarity to the events of four years ago. Fortunately the prompt action by the Council, through its statement of 8 October, made it clear to Saddam Hussein that the Council's resolve had not weakened, and helped to prevent another attempt by Iraq to threaten and browbeat its small neighbour and the international community. That statement and this resolution represent a classic example of preventive diplomacy.

But the events of the last two weeks - both the threatening statements by the Iraqi leadership and the substantial Iraqi troop movements towards the Kuwaiti border - represent a serious setback to the policy of cooperation between Iraq and the Security Council. The Government of Iraq has apparently attempted to influence the discussions in this Council through intimidation and threats. The Council has made it clear that it will not tolerate such tactics. Any confidence members of the Council may have begun to develop in the good intentions of the Iraqi leadership has evaporated.

Once again Iraq has resorted to threatening its neighbours. Once again Kuwait's friends have rallied to its support. My Government, along with the United States, France and other members of the coalition, responded immediately to Kuwait's request for assistance. "HMS Cornwall" - part of the Royal Navy's Armilla Patrol - was already off Kuwait by 9 October. This was followed by a doubling of the number of Royal Air Force Tornado aircraft in the Gulf and the dispatch of the spearhead battalion and of a further Royal Navy destroyer.

The main purpose of the resolution that we have just adopted is to prevent Iraq from repeating its actions of the last few weeks. The coalition cannot be expected to have to move large numbers of troops and military equipment into and out of the Gulf at the whim of Saddam Hussein. That is why we have insisted that the troops deployed to the south have to be returned to their original positions. That is why we have also insisted that the level of Iraqi forces in southern Iraq be kept where it was prior to the recent deployments.

The Iraqi Government has tried to justify its behaviour by speaking of its sovereign right to deploy its troops wherever it likes within its own territory. But Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter of the United Nations requires all Members to refrain

> "from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state".

Four years ago similar Iraqi troop movements led to the invasion of Kuwait. On this occasion Iraqi artillery and

tanks were deployed in positions pointing towards and within range of Kuwait, with ammunition at the ready. Let us be clear: this action was a threat to Kuwait and represented a breach of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

The Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation will be arriving in New York tomorrow. We look forward to hearing from him the results of his visit to the region. We have read with interest the joint Iraqi-Russian communiqué issued in Baghdad. We note the apparent Iraqi "readiness" to recognize Kuwait and its borders on the basis of Security Council resolution 833 (1993). But our confidence in that Iraqi "readiness" to do anything positive has been seriously undermined. What we need in future are not words but deeds.

Iraq's recognition of Kuwait and its frontier as demarcated by the United Nations must take the same form as its decision to annex Kuwait in 1990. This means a decision by the Revolutionary Command Council of Iraq under the chairmanship of Saddam Hussein, a decision by the National Council of Iraq and publication of both these decisions in the *Official Gazette* of Iraq, as well as official notification of these actions to the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General.

But the Security Council requires more than the recognition of Kuwait and its frontiers by Iraq. In the words of resolution 687 (1991), the Council needs "to be assured of Iraq's peaceful intentions". We also require full implementation of all the Council's relevant resolutions. In particular, Iraq must cooperate with the United Nations Special Commission and the International Atomic Energy Agency in their continuing work aimed at securing full compliance with section C of resolution 687 (1991). It must remedy the appalling human rights situation throughout the country and cease the repression of its own citizens, as called for in Security Council resolution 688 (1991). It must cease any involvement in State-sponsored terrorism and it must cooperate with the International Committee of the Red Cross in accounting for the over 600 Kuwaiti and other nationals missing since the conflict.

It is often suggested that recent Iraqi actions were intended to draw attention to the plight of the Iraqi people. I must say that I think this unlikely, given Saddam Hussein's record in heeding the concerns of his own people. We deplore the suffering of the Iraqi people, but we must not forget that it is Saddam Hussein and not the United Nations that is responsible for their suffering. Medical supplies have never been subject to United Nations sanctions and foodstuffs have been exempted since the adoption of resolution 687 (1991) in April 1991. The United Nations has offered Iraq a mechanism which would alleviate the suffering. Under the terms of resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991), Iraq would have been permitted to sell up to $1.6 billion of oil over six months, in return for which it would have received nearly $1 billion worth of humanitarian supplies. More recently, Iraq blocked plans to flush the Iraq-Turkey oil pipeline, which would also have enabled more food and medicines to be imported.

President Saddam Hussein has held the Iraqi people and the international community to ransom for too long. His latest acts have further aroused the world's distrust. The only way forward for his country and his people must lie in an end to his policies of intimidation, the demonstration by deed of Iraq's formal recognition of Kuwait's sovereignty, and its compliance with all the other requirements of the Security Council's resolutions, including the one we adopted yesterday.

I resume my function as President of the Security Council.

I now call on the representative of Kuwait.

Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait) *(interpretation from Arabic):* On behalf of the delegation of Kuwait, Mr. President, it is my pleasure to pay tribute to the excellent manner in which you, have conducted the work of the Security Council this month. Your experience, wisdom and excellent performance have made themselves felt during your presidency. I should also like to stress the good relationship that exists between our two countries, which is based on friendship, respect and mutual trust. Nor can I fail to pay special tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Barnuevo of Spain, or to congratulate him on his success in conducting the Security Council's work last month.

The people and Government of Kuwait, having followed this meeting through the media, are more confident about the present and the future. The members of the Council have just demonstrated a very strong stand on the side of right and strong determination to uphold the law. These expressions assure every small State that it is safe from the law of the jungle and make every small State much more attached to the United Nations. To all members here, my friends, we express our gratitude for the devotion to peace and security and our

thanks for the concern they have shown over Kuwait as a country and a people.

Today's meeting and the resolution just adopted arise from the Security Council's legal and political responsibilities for the maintenance of security and stability in the Gulf region, safeguarding the inviolability of the international borders between Kuwait and Iraq, preventing Iraq from using force and ensuring its acceptance of and compliance with all Security Council resolutions relating to its aggression against my country.

Over the past few days, the Iraqi regime has engaged in a number of political and military activities and taken measures which, by any standards, violate the very basis of the cease-fire arranged by the Security Council in resolution 687 (1991). Those measures have created a climate of tension and unrest and have threatened regional peace and security. The countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council, the United States and the United Kingdom have deployed military forces in Kuwait. France, too, has participated in this effort to deter aggression and safeguard peace. On behalf of the people and the Government of Kuwait, we extend to those countries our gratitude. The majority of States and regional organizations, including the Gulf Cooperation Council, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference have condemned the Iraqi measures and demanded that Iraq should restore the situation that existed prior to these developments and that it should implement all the relevant Security Council resolutions concerning its aggression against the State of Kuwait.

Given the intentions of the Iraqi regime which have been made quite apparent by its record of aggression that has immersed the whole region in a nightmare, the deployment of such large units of the Iraqi army, with their heavy sophisticated weaponry cannot be considered, under any circumstances, a purely internal affair or one that falls within the purview of inviolable sovereignty, particularly in the light of the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council's statement of 6 October, which contained a clear threat to Kuwait and the States of the region and wherein the Iraqi regime attacked the role and authority of the Security Council, and attacked also the United Nations Special Commission mandated to supervise the destruction of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. It also attacked the Commission's Chairman, Ambassador Ekeus. All this took place against the well-known backdrop of the Iraqi regime's continued refusal to recognize the international border demarcated by the United Nations between Iraq and Kuwait, the inviolability of which was guaranteed by the Security Council in its resolution 833 (1993), not to mention that regime's rejection of the other obligations contained in resolution 687 (1991).

Because of these developments, and because of the threat they pose to the security and stability of the region, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the States of the Gulf Cooperation Council held a special meeting in Kuwait. The Foreign Ministers of the United States and the United Kingdom participated in part of that meeting pursuant to their countries' support for Kuwait, their desire to safeguard its security and stability. Because of their awareness of the gravity of the aggressive steps taken by the Iraqi regime against the security and stability of the region, they have taken practical steps to deter the aggressor and to consolidate the practical underpinnings of the security and stability of the region's countries. The resolution the Council has just adopted supports and reinforces that constructive tendency.

On behalf of Kuwait, I wish to thank all the States that sponsored this resolution. This is a very lofty expression of a sense of responsibility and of respect for the Charter and for security and stability. I should also like to thank all the States that have voted in favour of the draft resolution. By so doing, those countries have contributed to the consolidation of the foundations of security and have upheld the Council's authority and its resolutions. I cannot fail also to thank the Secretary-General of our Organization for having taken the initiative, in line with his role and responsibility, by adopting two statements that were commensurate with the scale of the developments. I wish to thank in particular the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM) for its important role in maintaining security and preventing any disturbance that may threaten security in the demilitarized zone for which it is responsible. UNIKOM's mandate has been strengthened by the paragraph referred to by the Council in its resolution of today in the President's statement of 8 October 1994, wherein the Council asked the Mission to redouble its vigilance and efforts in safeguarding the security of the region. We are sure that the resolution adopted today is a proper expression of preventive diplomacy and use of the authority and means available to the Council to prevent any threat to peace and security and the need to warn against the consequences of such actions.

Kuwait believes that if the Security Council resolutions adopted before the recent developments were moral and political deterrents to Iraq, today's resolution, with all the arrangements it contains, will prevent Iraq

from repeating such actions. It is a practical deterrent. We are convinced that all States of the region and the peace and security of the region will benefit from this resolution.

The President: I thank the representative of Kuwait for his kind words addressed to me.

There are no further speakers on my list. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue consideration of the item on the agenda will take place on Monday, 17 October 1994, at 11 a.m.

The meeting rose at 12.35 a.m. on Sunday, 16 October.